

Central Budget—Continuation of the same reactionary Capitalist Policies

The Central Budget of this year (1978-79) is another revelation of the subservient political, economic and fiscal policies of the Janata Party to serve the aggregate interest of the capitalist class of our country in the same way the Congress did during its 30 year's rule at the Centre.

We cannot afford to forget for a moment that we are living in the third phase of general crisis of capitalism. The crisis of the Indian capitalism is more acute for some particular conditions obtaining here. The misery in the life of our people is mounting up every day under the deepening crisis of capitalism. The budgets of the Central and the State Governments, whichever party may be wielding power, reflect this crisis. The coming of the Janata Party to power does not mean any difference in this regard.

Both the Central and the State Governments are harping on the theme of 'increased investment' to tackle the problem of unemployment. Their intention is to create an impression among the people that the solution to the problem of unemployment lies, as if, in making higher investments in different sectors. But the solution to the crisis—whether in employment, in growth of industry, or in development of agriculture—is not linked to capital investment. For, if it were really linked that way, how could huge amount of capital remain idle in a backward country like ours? And why does the industry, in almost every sector, run below the installed capacity? The question of industrial development and solution of the problem of unemployment is actually linked to the market, to the purchasing power of

people to be precise. Through their suggestions the parties in power want actually to conceal the stark reality of the grave crisis of capitalism. On the other hand, though the crisis in people's life cannot be solved in the capitalist system, it is not true to say that no relief can be brought in people's life in the present framework, or that unemployment cannot be checked to an extent even. If a Government has genuinely pro-people interests, it can adopt economic and fiscal measures to curb the monopoly capital and give some relief to the people. The Central Budget of the Janata Government, or the budget of any State Government for that matter, should be examined in the light of whether and how far its economic and fiscal measures have been geared to put a curb on

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Defying all obstacles W. Bengal K.K.M.F Conference A Grand Success

The 15th State Conference of the K.K.M.F. Government of West Bengal was held amidst great enthusiasm despite innumerable obstacles set by the main partner of the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal to frustrate the conference, at Sahed Ramjatan-Guhiram Nagar at Purulia town on 11th,

12th and 13th March. The venue of the Conference was named after the two martyrs Comrade Ramjatan Singh and Comrade Guhiram Bauri of this district who were attacked and killed by hired goodas of the jotedars while they were trying to protect the crops of the share-croppers during the period of Emergency.

The open session of the conference was held at Purulia Court Maidan on 11th March. To attend the open conference thousands of poor peasants, agricultural labourers, share-croppers started to assemble at Purulia town from early in the evening of 10th March, from all corners of the district. The whole of Purulia town wore a

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Greets Chinese Friendship Delegation in India

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI welcoming the Chinese Goodwill Delegation, in course of a statement on 16th March '78 said: "I, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, the toiling millions of our country and on my own behalf extend hearty welcome and convey revolutionary greetings to the 12-member Goodwill Delegation under the leadership of Mr. Wang Ping-nan. We hope that this mission will go a great way in normalising the relation between these two countries which peoples of both the countries so fondly cherish. It is only through cementing closer unity between the great Indian and Chinese people that the forces of reaction, intrigue, war and hegemonism can be given a crushing defeat in this subcontinent."



A part of the assembly of delegates at the Delegate Session of West Bengal K.K.M.F Conference at Purulia

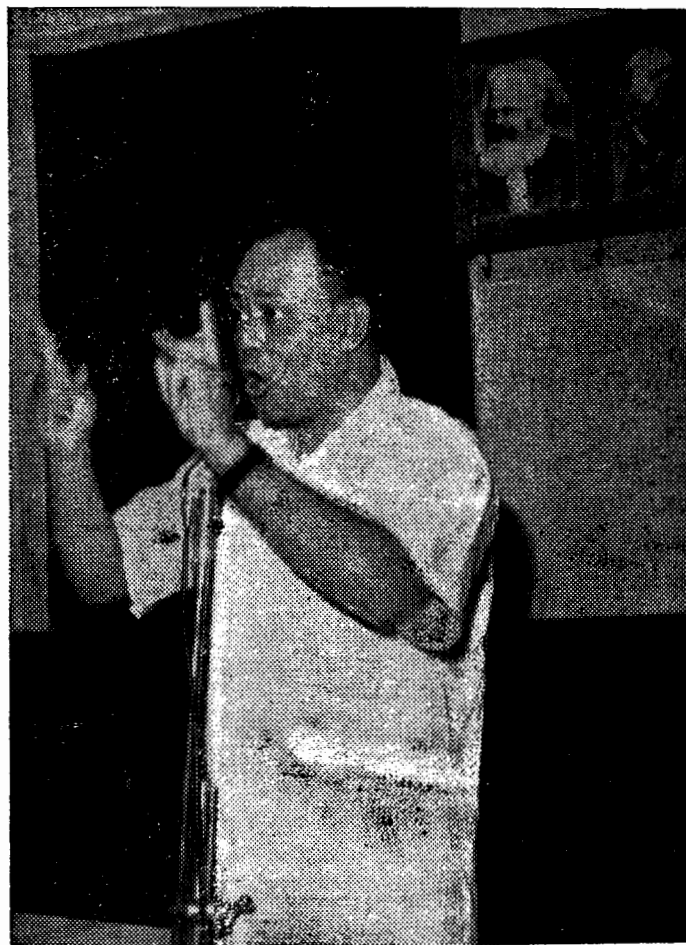
WHY SUCI

—The Only Genuine Communist Party On Our Soil

(Contd. from issue dated 15.3.78)

Not even a trace of this high cultural standard is found in the conduct of the so-called communist leaders of our country

Do you find any semblance of this high cultural standard in the conduct of the leaders known as communists, of our country? I do not mean the ordinary cadres of the parties because they are as yet engaged only in the struggle to acquire proletarian culture. But leaders, who are supposed to have acquired that standard to become the leaders of a revolutionary party of the proletariat, that is a communist party,—there are many among them who own huge personal properties, palatial buildings, private cars and apart from sufficient sets for daily use plenty of separate sets of dresses exclusively meant for tea-parties and foreign tours. But see the fun—when they go to the masses, workers and peasants, they go in commoners' dress as if they are all self-sacrificing saints! Starting from Gandhiji most of our Swadeshi leaders have set up a wonderful tradition of taking to loin cloths as the model of patriotism! The common people of our country do not bother about all this—they do not take care to know what really is the standard of livelihood of these leaders. They do not care to know as to how many sets of dresses they possess in which the leaders usually attend the meeting and public functions. They think that even being such big leaders when they move about in commoners' dresses they cannot but be great patriots. Our common people, even today, take things like this. Ours is a country of blind faith to the leaders, the cult of sacrifice has its root in the tradition of this country. There is no greater tricks than this to deceive the people. The bourgeois politicians have so long exploited fully this psychology of the masses in their favour, the so-called communists of today in their bid to deceive the people are taking recourse to the same hypocrisy. I say whether they have money or not is a separate question—but when they do not consider it improper even for the leaders to possess and in fact when most of them do possess abundance of personal properties then what is the use of deceiving the people with such stance of commoners' dresses like that of the saints? If you enquire you will find that so many leaders do personally possess properties of lakhs of rupees. They bring up their children like the rich, and their wives too lead the life of the rich. Many of these leaders, of course, make heavy donations to the party fund. The people or even the party cadres do not examine critically these practices of the leaders. They, on the contrary, boastfully publicise that such and such leader has made such a heavy contribution, so many lakhs of rupees to the party fund. This they do to prove, what a sacrifice these leaders have made! No doubt he has contributed a lot to the party but the fact remains that this big amount constitutes just a fraction of his total income. But not a single party worker would question why he has not given up his whole? He is supposed to be a self-dedicated revolutionary, a communist who holds that the history of private property is the history of injustice and coercion. So his fight is the fight for the abolition of private property. He stands for social ownership of the means of production. So, he who loudly asserts and makes tall claims that he can easily lay even his life for the sake of revolution—then should he not be able to part with all his paltry personal property for the sake of that very revolution? Then why does he still possess and retain personal property? Why has he not given his all to the party? If asked, perhaps he would say that he has no objection if the party asks for it. Why should the party has to ask for it? Is he not ready to lay even his life for revolution? Then why has he not already given voluntarily such an insignificant thing like personal property to the party? Why should the party at all ask for it? Whether the party will ask for it or not, is a matter to be decided entirely by the party. Thus it is clear that in their pulpit speeches these leaders talk of sacrificing their life and everything for the sake of revolution but they cannot give even a small thing like personal property for the cause of revolution. In whatever else these



leaders may be fit, as for the historic responsibility of leading a revolutionary party they can never be entrusted with.

All these are mainly responsible for the popular notion that politics is but a profession of the rich. As for myself, I can recollect my father's advice in my childhood that it is only the rich who can afford to fight for country's independence. Even today there are many among the poor and the middle class people who believe in communist ideology and seriously feel that something must be done, but the conduct and mode of life of these communist leaders make them think that only men with money and security can take to politics. And by this they are destroying the militant fervour, the soul of revolutionary movement, they are maligning the nobility of communism.

These leaders call upon the students of the country to dedicate themselves for revolution. They ask them—fight, go to jail, face lathi, bullets. Do not care for career. But to their own children they say—be good students, build up your career first, be established and then decide what you would do. For their own sons they are after lucrative employment and for daughters well-placed grooms. But for the sons and daughters of the country, their advice is to fight for revolution. And it is for this unabashed hypocrisy of these leaders that such a noble ideology has remained enchained within the narrow bounds of economism-reformism and till today has failed to inspire the people to the cause of revolution.

There are many so-called communist leaders in our country who pose themselves as simple and open-hearted but are very much conscious and particular about their bank balance and comfort and are quite lavish in personal expenses and family life. They have amassed personal property and wealth but go to the workers, peasants and general public in commoners' dresses. What is the motive behind posing oneself as a self-sacrificing saint, concealing one's personal way of life by such falsehood like the bourgeois hypocrites? Is it not deceiving the workers? Is it anything other than cheating the people? The so-called leftist and communist leaders in their zeal to earn cheap popularity and praise of the people have taken to such a path for propagating the ideology of communism.

Again there are leaders of another type who are not exactly like this, who have no personal property of their own. But even then these leaders expect much from the party in return of their sacrifice. There are some who want position in the party, they grumble every now and then at the slightest of difficulty; because, what they want is nothing but comfort in life. If the party feels the necessity of and can normally afford a comfortable living there is nothing to

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Revolutionary character can only grow on the firm edifice of higher proletarian culture and ethics

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object—but they in their turn should never develop in them any last or longing for comfort; then again, if the standard of living falls below normal there is nothing to resent—such an attitude is the correct revolutionary attitude. But there are leaders who want something in exchange of their “boundless” sacrifices. And for this “something”—be it position in the party, be it comfort in life they exert influence on the party in diverse forms. They harbour a feeling like this that since they have sacrificed much, struggled hard and given up everything for the party, they are now, in return, entitled to something from the party. Such a concept of sacrifice breeds the desire to get something in return. The nature of this desire varies from man to man. Some want money, some aspire for name and fame, some clamour and quarrel for position in the party and some demand privileges and legacies. Behind all these is at work the vile influence of bourgeois culture and bourgeois individualism.

The mental peace and happiness that can be derived amidst the constant struggle of the apparently painful revolutionary life can not be found at all in the ordinary easy going life.

First of all it must be understood that the ideology of communism is not an ideology of renunciation. We have sacrificed nothing. For-saking a petty, commonplace and filthy life we have only stepped into a greater life. Would any one call it a sacrifice? What do we mean by sacrifice? Say for instance, you are now living in a hut. You are given a palace to live in and abandoning the dilapidated, damp dirty hut you start to live in the palace. Will you consider your leaving the hut a sacrifice? Nobody does it so, you too will not. Because, sacrifice means to give up something without asking for anything or giving up everything in lieu of nothing. But is that so? In reality you have got more than you have given up. The communists consider their revolutionary life more precious than a royal living. To a revolutionary the life he has left behind is not only filthy and painful like his life in the hut—it is petty, mean and insulting as well. So, judged from this a real revolutionary has sacrificed nothing. On the contrary, what he has left behind—the house and car, money and means, property and wealth, comfort and luxury—he has got back something million times greater—he has got back his dignity. The wants and privations, the thousand and one sufferings and oppressions which the revolutionaries are usually subjected to—however painful that may seem to the common men, the peace and happiness which a revolutionary enjoys even being in the midst of apparently painful constant struggling life—common men, in their comfortable and luxurious living can not fathom its depth. So, whatever a revolutionary gives up, even if life—he does never consider it a sacrifice—while taking to the life of a revolutionary for revolution. Had it not been so—even if a little attachment or passion or desire was left in them for what they gave up, the revolutionaries of China could not continue such a death-defying struggle in plains and mountains for long thirty years. Wherefrom are the revolutionaries of Vietnam getting the mental strength and conviction to continue this bloody struggle against such a mighty power day in and day out, nights after nights, years after years if they did not find the clue to a high sense of dignity and happiness in the life of a revolutionary?

The desire to get something in return remains ingrained in the ideology of renunciation

Only then he can become a revolutionary when this surge for a revolutionary life is a tremendous force in him. But strangely enough, whenever they would have to give up anything, the so-called communists of our country consider it a great sacrifice. What have they given up? Property, car, wealth, comfort—anything more? The Gandhites, in our country, on that score, have sacrificed more. But how is it that those who claim themselves as communist consider this as sacrifice? It is of course true that when a real revolutionary becomes inspired with revolutionary ideals and when to him the necessities of life considered all important to a common man become insignificant, the people may take him as a self-sacrificing saint in the sense that he has given up everything and dedicated his life for the cause of revolution. But why should a communist take it as a

sacrifice? Then would it not mean that they consider property, car, wealth and comfort etc. more precious than revolution? It means, at the core of their hearts they feel a great attraction for all this. So, the desire to get something, be it wealth and property or power and position in return, owes its origin in the very feeling that they have made great sacrifice for the country. The so-called communists of our country too are after something in return of their sacrifice. The very sacrifice has become a great burden on the country.

This is of course true that there are some among them who do not aspire for property and wealth or power and position, what they want is nothing but revolution. They too nurture such a notion that they have sacrificed or are still sacrificing a lot of their own for revolution. What happens if such a feeling of sacrifice persists in our mind? Faced with difficult and adverse situation, when despite bitter struggle the desired result is not forthcoming one is prone to gradually fall victim to a state of despair losing all faith in the efficacy of human efforts. What has become the fate of those Gandhites in our country who were not after property and wealth, who were also least interested to get entangled in the strife for power and position? Although they are exceptions, exceptions in the sense that they were not after property, wealth, power and position but still then they have become frustrated, cynic and have lost all faith in human effort; that is, they have lost all faith on man and man's struggle to shape out the destiny. They have become inactive. They have become cynic. So, the cult of sacrifice is bound to lead one to either of these two extremes. Either it breeds the desire to get something in whatsoever form, or if with the passage of time one does not get the coveted success in life and meets with failure in face of the complexity of the struggle then he succumbs to frustration, loses all faith in human effort and ultimately becomes averse to struggle. In such a situation, they start losing whatever great was in their revolutionary character, and in that way they even fall from their once acquired standard. This is why I reiterate—see, what happens with them also who were not after property, wealth, power and position if they do not have a correct Marxist concept about sacrifice? So, I say again that at long last they become frustrated and cynic and lose all faith in human effort.

You should remember that it is not the ideology of renunciation that the revolutionaries believe in. That is why I was saying that we have sacrificed nothing leaving behind a petty, stereotyped and filthy life we have accepted the greatest and the most precious life of the day, because we know that we cannot get to the revolutionary life without forsaking this commonplace life. This is no sacrifice to us, to no genuine revolutionary. Then again, putting on rags and living in slums can never be the workers' ideal. We forget that these are nothing but the inevitable outcome of capitalist exploitation in their life. So, what they reflect in their standard of living, culture and ethics being pressed in the grinding machine of capitalist exploitation on the one hand and influenced by the vile bourgeois culture and lack of proper education on the other is not the revolutionary proletarian culture. They have been, in fact, pushed to such a deplorable condition. Their struggle is the struggle to overthrow capitalism for a higher standard of living and nobler life on the basis of a higher ideology, culture, ethics, and sense of values. Then what is the meaning of going to the workers in rags as if as an embodiment of sacrifice? Good dress if you do not possess go in what you have. But what for this falsehood of going in rags hiding a good dress if you have? This falsehood is mainly responsible for a wrong notion prevailing among the common people of our country. They do not go for all such critical examination. Rather, if they find any leader with a suit, though he has nothing of his own, no personal property and has given his all for politics, for the party—the suit presented to him by a friend or a sympathiser of the party—his only set in which he moves about throughout the winter, even then people would take him as a big boss, a well off and a moneyed man. Thanks to the Gandhian Swadeshi leaders, for whom the people have grown a common feeling—as if all is lost, no more the leaders love their country and the countrymen the moment they put on good dresses and travel in cars even when necessary. Such a notion is firmly rooted among most of the people. Again, there are some leaders who dismiss all this as prejudices, cite the instances of Marx and Engels, use cars, live in costly flats and put on costly dresses without even considering whether the masses and the party have the capacity to provide these.

(To be Concluded)

Comrade Debaprosad Sarkar exposes The real motive behind the demand for more power to the States of the 'Left Front' Government

Hon'ble Deputy Speaker Sir,

I brought an amendment resolution on the official resolution with regard to the question of Centre-State relation moved by the Hon'ble Chief Minister. Hon'ble Speaker gave his ruling that the amendment resolution would be discussed along with the main resolution. I expected that my amendment being a separate resolution, I too would be given the same opportunity to move it and speak on its justification as the Chief Minister got the opportunity to do so while moving the original resolution. I hold that a debate proper could start only when both the movers of the original resolution as also of the amendment to it could place their respective viewpoints before the house. But I do not know for what reasons I have not been given the opportunity to place my view points before the debate started and only at the fag end of the debate I have been called to place my views. I do not want to comment on the propriety or otherwise of this ruling of the Hon'ble Speaker as I have no other option than to submit to his decision.

In my amendment resolution what I have said can be put in a nutshell like this—admittedly there are instances galore of discriminatory treatments in the matter of allocation of funds and on other matters by the Central Government especially to the State Governments run by political parties other than the ruling party at the Centre. Mention may be made of such instances of authoritarian interference by the Centre which are of particular importance, like the dissolution of the elected Assembly as happened in West Bengal in 1967 or blocking the bills adopted in the Assembly by the Presidents' refusal of assent which too took place in West Bengal in 1967 when the then Labour Minister of the United Front Government, Subodh Banerjee brought several bills aimed at safeguarding the interests or conferring benefits on the workers and employees. Those were duly adopted by this house and sent for approval of the President but were not approved by him. Besides, States have been deprived of their legitimate share from the central allocable funds which should not be allowed to continue any further.

But the central focal point in this regard should be as to the very approach and attitude of the leftists to this problem as also the correct method and process they should adopt in bringing this issue to the people. For, it is one thing to develop legitimate democratic movement of the masses by rousing their democratic consciousness but to cash in the issue just for parliamentary petty consideration is entirely a different thing. In the latter case the real issue is diluted. People are misled to the blind alley notwithstanding the cover of so-called national debate on the constitutional technicalities by the ruling parties in the States and at the Centre or by the constitutional experts. This means in effect diversion of peoples attention from the real question. I am afraid, the 'Left Front' Government is being guided by the latter consideration.

Secondly, it should be the common knowledge for all those who claim themselves to be Marxists that capitalism, when it is no longer at the stage of free competition but has attained the stage of monopoly, it is bound to generate centralisation of powers of the state no matter whether the formal shape of the constitution

is unitary or federal. This is the irrevokable law of capitalism. Can there be any doubt on this score? Take for example the experience of the U. S. A. It is called a model federal state—but in reality it is nothing other than a highly centralised imperialist-capitalist state machine. That is why the real Marxists have no difficulty to grasp the modicum of truth that in a capitalist society no change in the basic problems of the people can be brought about by mere change of laws or the constitution. This is a truth which even the bourgeois constitutional experts are to admit in their own way when they say: "A constitution is not what is written but how it works". So whoever is raising a false clamour of constitutionalism in the name of doing good to the people is in reality misguiding them, is diverting them from the real path of their emancipation.

Thirdly, the demand for confining the Centre within four or five specific spheres like foreign trade and relation, defence, economic co-ordination, currency and communication means a demand for 'Special Status' like that of the State of Jammu and Kashmir for all other States. A serious point to ponder on this question is whether by this demand would not the historic process of unification and integration of the different nationalities into one nationhood concept that started developing through the common struggle for national freedom against imperialist rule be reversed? It is a historic fact that Kashmiri people, because of their position within a princely state, could not be in the main stream of national freedom movement. For this and the peculiar circumstances under which

BIHAR K.K.M.S. CONFERENCE HELD

Patna March 20.

The Third Conference of the Bihar State Kisan Khet-Majdoor Sangha, the organisation of agricultural labourers and poor peasants led by SUCI was held here on 18th and 19th March, 1978. The conference was presided over by the renowned SUCI leader Comrade Pritish Chanda in which 940 delegates from all the districts of Bihar participated. Especially the sessions were marked by participation of a large number of Adivasis from

the districts of Singbhum, Ranchi and Santhal Pragnas, and Harijan and backward caste male and female delegates from Muzaffarpur, Chhapra, Patna, Dhanbad, Arrah, Monghyr and Bhagalpur. Comrade Suraj Parmar inaugurated the conference and Shri Rafique Ahmed, an eminent freedom fighter, a close associate of Netajee Subhas Chandra Bose and the chairman of the reception committee extended receptional greetings to the
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the state was acceded to the Indian Federation, certain guarantee as in the 'Special Status' had to be ensured in and through the Constitution. But does it mean that the same applies to all other states? Will it not, knowingly or unknowingly, encourage separatist trends in different nationalities? Whose purpose would it serve? Will it not help the monopolists who in their bid to bring disunity and disarray in the working class struggle are patronising and pampering all sorts of linguistic, regional cast and racial parochialism to carry through their class design?

Let me recall, in fine, the self-contradictory character of the demand of the 'Left Front' Government for more powers to the States. While it is for more powers for the States it is robbing the freedom and autonomy of the elected bodies including the educational institutions one after another. I can mention here of the instances of supersession of four universities including the Calcutta University, the supersession of the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education, dissolution of hundreds of school committees and appointments of administrators there. By this method, whatever freedom and autonomy was there in the field of education is being steadily eroded. Again, another glaring instance of standing con-

tradition in this demand for more power to the states by the ruling parties in this government was the demand of the big partner in the same breath for the dissolution of the government in Andhra Pradesh before the election. Such instances can be multiplied. Say for instance, the demand for abolition of 42nd amendment but to take advantage at the same time of the same very hated provision to be in the coalition government in Tripura. Naturally from all the inconsistencies and incongruities in the political behaviour of CPI(M), doubts and suspicions are apt to crop up as to the very object and purpose of this demand—whether it is genuinely aimed at restoring democratic rights and norms or just to capitalise it for exigency in parliamentary politics.

Reality is this that in order to hide the truth from the people that they are running this government to defend and uphold the class interest of the monopoly capitalists and to divert people's attention from real issues, they are bringing questions like the present one. For this, the resolution moved by the Chief Minister suffers from basic fault. Judged from the angle of furthering the cause of democratic movement, I have brought this amendment and hope that the house would give support to it.

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee's Rousing Call at K.K.M.F. Conference

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look of a vast sea of humanity on the morning of the 11th.

Thousands of delegates were coming from all the districts of West Bengal from North to South and East to West—came also innumerable processions of thousands of peasants, workers and toiling masses of Purulia district. The beautifully written wall-writing in all corners of the town, in connection with this conference reflecting high cultural and ethical taste were highly acclaimed by the local people.

Attractive gates erected in all the important crossings of the town befitting to the occasion with inscriptions like 'Red salute **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, great leader of the proletariat', 'Saheed Ramjatan-Guhinagar', 'K K M E State Conference', etc. gave a warm welcome to all those who came to attend the conference braving all odds set by nature as well as the major partner of the 'Left Front' Government.

The determination and devotion shown by all sections of the toiling people of Purulia to make the conference successful defying the obstructions of various forms to frustrate the conference including the inhuman stoppage of water supply at the conference place and the deligate camp at the instance and threat of the major partner of the 'Left Front' government as well as the devastating storm of the evening of the 10th and the incessant rain throughout the day of 11th is exemplary and in comparable. The more the hurdles assumed fierceness more resolutely the toiling people stood in determination.

Comrade Prativa Mukherjee, President K K M F West Bengal presided over the meeting.

The open session commenced with mass songs presented by DYO music squad. Comrade

Prativa Mukherjee delivered her presidential address and Comrade Yakub Pailan, Secretary, KKM F West Bengal also spoke.

Because of the torrential rain even during the progress of the open session, causing tremendous hardship to the general members of the public drenching in the rain and shivering in cold yet showing great determination to defy this calamity, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered a brief speech. He said:

Comrade President and Comrades,

You have assembled here to attend the open session of the 15th State Conference of the West Bengal Krishak-O-Khet Mazur Federation. This Conference will be marked as memorable both for the magnitude of spontaneous support received from the downtrodden people of Purulia, as also, on the reverse, for the deep-seated conspiracy and all-out obstruction hatched by the vested interests and different political circles running the 'Left Front' Government of the State. I, therefore, extend my hearty and sincere congratulations and revolutionary greetings to the toiling people of Purulia—the workers, peasants, the cross-section of the middle class including the students and youths on the one hand; so do I record my wrath and indignation on the other against those who could stoop so low in obstructing supply of drinking water, among others, to the thousands of delegates of this Conference.

At the very outset, I cannot but recall with a deep sense of pride, the glorious struggle led by our Party and the KKM F during the darkest days of Emergency when Comrade Ramjatan Singh and Comrade Guniram Bauri of Purulia laid their lives at the hands of the goondas hired by the jotedars for their only 'crime' that they came

forward to protect the rights and legitimate share of the share-croppers. The names of Comrade Ramjatan Singh and Comrade Guhiram Bauri—after whom the venue of this conference has been named—will be written in the history of democratic movements of our country in golden letters. I extend my revolutionary greetings to these martyrs.

It is not only the dark clouds of nature that have overcast the sky—braving which we are holding this conference, this incessant rain and inclement weather notwithstanding—but dark cloud is accumulating in the political horizon also of our country. The darkest force of fascism is finding its reflection even in the facade of democracy and all that. The defenders of the exploitative capitalist system, in their bid to save the crisis-ridden capitalism from the wrath and indignation of the common people or the threat of revolution, at least a substantial section of the ruling class chose to withdraw support, even if temporarily, from Sm. Indira Gandhi in the last Parliamentary election and installed Janata Party in power in order to introduce 'Two Party Parliamentary System' with the sole object of arresting the legitimate democratic mass movements within the four walls of parliamentarianism - reformism. We look with wonder how can the parties who claim themselves to be Marxist-Leninist call this Janata Party, the bourgeois alternative, the 'friend' of the people. The class conspiracy behind all this must be exposed thoroughly.

Our beloved leader, teacher, guide and the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** warned us long ago that in the third phase of intense general crisis of capitalism, fascism can raise its head high not only in the advanced capitalist countries but also in the underdeveloped capitalist countries, not only through rejection of parliamentary system but also maintaining the facade

of parliamentary democracy and also through the mechanism of 'Two-Party Parliamentary System'. These historic warnings of **Comrade Ghosh** have come true to his very words. Unmistakable has been proved other warnings given by our great leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**; he said that when the branded bourgeois parties would no more be able to hoodwink the masses it is the social democratic parties that will come to the rescue of the crisis-ridden capitalism. Even waving red banner they may become instrumental in bringing fascism, the last resort of the crisis ridden capitalism, a counter revolutionary offensive of the bourgeoisie to stave off the possibility of revolution.

We cannot forget that it is **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** who concretised, developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism on the Indian soil. His rousing call to the toiling people still rings in our ear.

Comrades, truth cannot be gagged for long, conspiracy and nasty politics cannot nullify the course of history. Armed with the great teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** you will surely march ahead in your stride to emancipate the people from the grip and tentacles of capitalism and establish socialism in our country.

Long Live Revolution!
Red Salute **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**!

Bihar KKMS Conference

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participants. The house stood in silence for two minutes in the revered memory of its founder leader—**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the founder General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Centre of India.

Resolutions on scores of economic, political, social and cultural problems of Kisans and Khet-Majdoors were unanimously passed. The highlight was the resolution condemning police repression on the democratic movements of the masses—particularly in the rural areas since ages and still increasingly continuing

The delegate sessions were held on 12th and 13th March. A total of 4352 delegates from all the districts of West Bengal attended the conference. At the onset of the delegate session president Comrade Prativa Mukherjee read before the delegates the Homage in memory of the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Comrade Achintya Sinha placed a condolence resolution. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered a long analytical but rousing speech in the first session which will be published latter on.

On the second and third session secretary's report, the main political resolution and a charter of demands were placed respectively by Comrades Yakub Pailan, Amir Ali Haldar and Jiad Ali Baksi before the delegates for discussion and acceptance. After elaborate discussion and deliberations those were unanimously accepted. An executive committee and council were elected with Comrade Prativa Mukherjee as the President, Comrades Yakub Pailan, and Prangour Basak as Vice-Presidents and Comrade Amir Ali Haldar as the secretary.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary West Bengal State Committee SUCI delivered the concluding speech of the conference. Mass songs were presented to conclude the business of the conference.

under the present Janata Party Government mainly due to its anti-people character. Through another resolution the people in general and exploited masses in particular were warned against the conspiracy of the exploiters, their parties and the government to divide the masses and create caste fanaticism on slogans like reservation of seats in government jobs etc. with an intent to divert the growing attention of the masses against the failures of the government on economic and political issues. It considered that unemployment was all pervading

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the monopoly capital and how much benefit it is capable of bringing to the people.

The outstanding feature of this year's budget is the record uncovered deficit of Rs. 1050 crores. And this is so despite a massive dose of additional taxation to the tune of Rs. 525 crores out of which about Rs. 500 crores will be collected through indirect taxation like excise duty on about 140 items. This staggering amount of uncovered gap is bound to release strong inflationary forces since all the gaps are going to be bridged by increasing notes in circulation or through credit expansion. Although release of gold stock has been proposed, it is not going to effect any abatement in the inflationary spiral. Most of the additional amount of taxation has been on items like coal, kerosene, power etc. which clearly imply a rise in the prices of many consumer goods. The Government likes us to believe that the rise will not be 'large'. But that is only misleading, because there will be a cumulative effect of the rise in excise duties for most of the manufactured goods and other products. In the matter of earning revenues the Budget thus shifts the burden on to the common man's shoulder and the monopolists and the business community have been assured of a still higher profit as usual.

In the budget of the last year (1977-78), when the election pledges were still ringing in the ears of the electorate, the Janata Government did try to do a lot of tightrope walk to impress upon the people of its 'sincere desire' to fulfil its election pledges. Incidentally, one of the election pledges of the Janata Party was that it would avoid deficit financing in framing budgets. This year the party has shed its sense of shame altogether and has come out with a fuller and flagrant display of its scheme of things. The present budget makes the disclosure that the deficit in the last year's budget

Bourgeois and Social Democratic Parties are defending crisis-ridden capitalism

was to the tune of Rs. 975 crores although it was deliberately shown to be a meagre amount of Rs. 84 crores at the time of presenting the last budget. It may prove startling to many but not to us. This trickery of the Janata Government was laid bare in our analysis of the last year's budget where we had shown that the small figure of deficit was a false claim since the Government "has taken loan to the tune of Rs. 800 crores from foreign exchange accretions with the Reserve Bank. Money circulation has already increased on this foreign exchange accretion. So, if the present loan is further used to meet ordinary Government expenditures, it will mean nothing other than deficit financing. Again, the Government will resort to market borrowing to the extent of Rs. 1000 crores which if paid for meeting Government bills will do the same thing. There will be increase in money and monetary resources without addition to volume of goods in the market." (Proletarian Era, July 15, 1977) The Finance Minister had boastfully claimed at that time that by decreasing deficit financing to a nominal figure he had fulfilled an election pledge of the Janata Party. How shameless was the claim will be amply borne out if one looks at the actual deficit in the last year's budget (Rs. 975 crores) and what has been estimated in this year's budget (a deficit of Rs. 1050 crores).

The true character of the budget will become more evident if we now turn our attention to the distribution side of it. The Finance Minister, in the course of his budgetary speech, has shamelessly quoted the Janata Party's election pledge that it will ensure 'distributive justice' so far as bearing the burden of economic development is concerned. He has at the same time re-

mindful that the people must bear the burden for investment in 'planned development'. But what is really the character of this much flaunted 'planned development'? While there is no question of solution to the economic crisis within the present framework, only some relief may be expected for the people if genuinely pro-people economic and fiscal measures are taken. But the real picture of the 'economic development' is that whereas about 12% of the budgetary provisions used to be spent under the 'public welfare' head upto 1955-56, it has come down to 6% today. As against this, about a third of total outlays is utilised every year to strengthen the coercive arm of the State—the defence, police and administration. Thus the fact of the matter is that the people of our country have been paying for the 'planned development' of the monopoly capitalism for the last thirty years only to be rewarded with a greater burden of miseries. This is the stark reality of the entire period of the Congress rule and is a reality of similar magnitude in the present regime as well.

Again, every year the Central Budget brings bounties of concessions to the capitalists who rob the people but impose newer and newer tax-burdens on to the shoulder of the robbed instead of on the robber. The poor people are thus doubly robbed—by the capitalist class as also by the government which is the protector and defender of the aggregate interest of the capitalist class. That is why despite all talks of 'distributive justice', a number of additional taxes have been levied this year. There has been an increase in excise duties covering about 140 items of commodities including coal, power, diesel, kerosene etc. It simply means that, on this pretext, the prices

of almost all the manufactured products are increased. Postal rates on certain articles have been revised upwards. Compulsory deposit rates in the middle range groups have also been increased from 4% to 4.5%.

As against the above additional taxes to be borne by the common man, handsome concessions have been made to the rural and industrial capitalists. These include, among others, raising of the depreciation allowance from 20% to 40% for construction of buildings by employers for workers, exemption from capital gains tax for investment in shares of new companies, exemption for earnings on interest, exemption from excise duty for the power-driven pumps usually at the disposal of rich peasants and tariff and excise duty relief for some industries.

This is then the Janata specimen of the so-called 'distributive justice'. As a matter of fact, whether in collection of revenues, or in the distributive principle, there has not been an iota of change between those of the Congress and of the Janata Party. The Janata Party is serving the same old wine, not even in a new bottle, but in the same old bottle, the Congress had been using all these years. Obviously, it has no other choice, being the ruling class's handpicked alternative to the Congress on the national plane.

That the Central Budget is not aimed at curbing the monopoly capital and bringing some relief to the people, rather it seeks to protect the aggregate interest of the capitalist class in the face of mounting crisis, of the system becomes apparent if the scheme of expenditure in the budget and the State of Economy outlined by the Finance Ministry are examined. There has been an increase of only

17% on the so-called planned outlay whose real beneficiary is the capitalist class. Even then less than 10% of this outlay will be utilised for new projects. The Annual Plan expenditure for the new year will be Rs. 11,649 crores as against Rs. 9,660 crores of the last year. Of this, the continuing schemes will account for Rs. 10,465 crores leaving only Rs. 1,184 crores for new schemes. With this meagre fund allocated for the new schemes, the party in power claims that it will solve unemployment problem in 10 years! Not to speak of its capacity to wipe out the backlog of unemployment, the Janata scheme of things clearly points to its abject failure to cope with the current requirement in the field of creation of jobs.

The expenditure on 'Defence' however goes on increasing every year and this year it has been no exception. The Government proposes to spend about Rs. 3000 crores i.e. an additional amount of Rs. 193 crores on defence during 1978-79, meaning an increase of 7% over the last year's defence expenditure. The continuous increase in defence expenditure, while people languish at bare subsistence level or without the means of subsistence even, is a measure of the intensity of the crisis in the capitalist economy. As our great leader, teacher, and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** exposed long back, the bourgeois governments' resort to continuous increase in defence expenditure is nothing but an attempt to provide an artificial stimulation to the sluggish growth of investment in this third phase of intense crisis of the capitalist market. The ruling capitalist class tries to manoeuvre in this way in its bid to make best of the crisis-ridden situation it finds itself in.

The Janata Governments' recent policy in regard to the defence production indicates once more its true class

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The slogan of 'decentralisation' is nothing but a cover for Fascist designs of the capitalist class

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character. The Government has taken the decision to associate private sector companies in the production of defence items. At present the annual rate of defence production has reached Rs 1000 crore level as against Rs 41 crores in 1961-62. 32 Ordnance factories are running and newer projects for earning self-reliance on sophisticated military hardwares have been taken up for producing fighter planes, electronically operated missiles, tanks etc. Two designs can be read to be working behind these policies of the government: 1) Ordinary palliatives are not working and the government wants to give artificial stimulation to the crisis-ridden capitalist economy by associating even private sector companies with the defence production in order to keep the wheels of these companies moving. 2) The bourgeois state machinery is being strengthened and consolidated more and more with development of sophisticated armaments to repress people's movements. Besides, the India Government wants to emerge as a seller of both conventional and sophisticated weapons to the third world countries.

The Economic Survey presented by the Ministry of Finance is hardly able to conceal the severe and acute crisis gripping the capitalist economy. Despite governmental subsidies and financial assistances of the governmental institutions all the economic indicators show unmistakable signs of the crisis: 1) The industrial sector still suffers from the setbacks of recession and industrial slack. There has not been any improvement on the industrial front in respect of lockouts, closures and layoffs. 2) The wholesale price index which had fallen to 162.2 on March 20, 1976, has again risen to 182.11 on March 26, 1977. 3) A paradoxical situation

typical of the capitalist crisis obtains in that whereas 18 million tons of foodgrains have been stocked and a huge foreign exchange reserve amounting to Rs. 4000 crores has accrued, people cannot buy the essential commodities and even die of hunger. A significant amount of the foreign exchange reserve has been contributed by the export of consumer goods and raw materials. The very fact that these commodities are exported instead of being consumed domestically only proves that the purchasing power of our people has been squeezed to such an extent that domestic consumption is steadily falling. 4) While the present government's policy is said to be not in favour of expansion of the largescale industry, government proposes that the foreign exchange reserves be utilised for importing machineries, transport equipments, ships and aircrafts not built in India. This is again a measure of the crisis of the capitalist economy since this policy only adds to the defence potentialities without having anything to do with the people's welfare which is miserably lacking. 5) While the people's demand for pulses and such other food articles remain uncovered, more and more of agricultural acreage is being transformed into wheat fields since wheat cultivation is more profitable than pulse cultivation. This paradoxical situation, too, is an indication of the crisis of capitalism and is an example at the same time of how capitalist motive force of production is operative in agriculture in our country—a fact which many so-called Marxists simply overlook.

Thus, it is clear that the measures which the Janata Government has taken through its economic and fiscal policies as also its Budget are clear in evidence that the Janata Party and its government do not aim at curbing the monopoly capital, rather

they mean to defend and protect the aggregate interest of the capitalist class in the best possible way particularly when it is in the state of acute crisis. Corroboration of this fact comes from the condition reportedly laid down for granting licences to the monopoly houses and the public sector undertaking in as much as they will be required to establish a minimum number of ancillaries around their units. This means linkage of the small sector with the monopoly houses. They are the outlet of products as also supplier of industrial inputs for the small sector. This again means that the monopoly houses are to reap the benefit of all the concessions like preference in raw material allocation, price-subsidy, cheap bank credit etc. provided to small sector. There is every possibility that the monopoly houses will be charging two types of prices—one for competition in the organised sector and the other for the so-called small sector to attract the government subsidy.

It has been a claim of the Janata Party and its Government that their 'economic philosophy' aims at decentralisation of economy and this is where their economic programme differs 'basically' from that of the Congress. The fiscal scheme of the Janata Government, the suggestions borne in its Economic Survey, especially its plan to cluster ancillaries around the larger units, are said to highlight its attempt at decentralisation. On several occasions, including our analysis of the last year's budget of the Janata Government, we have exposed what this talk and steps of decentralisation aim at. The Indian capital, as the outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, has shown through a searching analysis, has not only given birth to the monopoly capital but to finance capital and financial oligarchy. That is to say

capital and product have both been concentrated and centralised together with the concentration and centralisation of financial resources in the financial institutions like banks, insurance and other Government agencies. At this stage of development of capitalism, the small and cottage industries can survive only as ancillary to big industries. The reason behind the liquidation of rural cottage and small industries with the development of capitalism despite government subsidies and helps points unmistakably to this law of capitalism. It is therefore not historic nor scientific to hold that the law of monopoly capitalism will continue to operate but the small and cottage industries would be revived simply by patronage like doles from the Government. At best, they may be one among so many welfare schemes which would remain entirely dependent on the government both for financial resources and for the market. Where is the market for the ancillary industry? And what is their source of capital? The Government has to provide the market for the products of the small and cottage industries. The financial resources too are provided by banks, insurance and other financial institutions. Consequently, the control of the monopoly houses remains firmly clamped over the ancillaries. The question of solving unemployment problem or reviving the market by such palliatives is just utopian. The small scale industry, in the usual scheme of things, will act as outlet for the large scale industry and will also help the latter attracting concessions from the Government. Thus, in the name of development of the small sector, the monopoly capitalism is actually being helped to tide over its crisis and consolidate it further. Besides the slogan is aimed at hoodwinking the people,

particularly the youth who are duped with the so-called self-employment schemes.

Moreover, by this method of compulsory division-or subdivision of the productive forces, the large houses can decentralise their work-forces. In fact, the Government policy aims at striking the organised trade unions by splitting the labour force. For, trade unionism is no longer an economic problem with the capitalist class. It has assumed the character of a political problem. Mr. Charan Singh has spelt it out in so many words.

In reality, behind this slogan of decentralisation and clustering of ancillaries round the larger units, which no doubt adds to the political confusion of the intellectuals and the middle class people, the operation of laying the rockbottom foundation of fascism had been continuing. More concentration of power with the Government is taking place and administrative fascisation is going on. It is not astonishing to find the so-called Marxists like the CPI (M) is also harping on the slogan of decentralisation. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great leader of the proletariat, and one of the outstanding Marxist philosophers of the era, warned us long ago that the petty-bourgeois social democratic parties would join hands with the bourgeois parties in peddling this sort of hoax only to help the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to arrest major sections of the toiling masses in the rural economy in a state of half-clad, half-fed condition either in small holdings of land or in cottage industries—just to provide an extra lease of life to the capitalist exploitation which is the root cause of all miseries. Social democracy is thereby playing its role as the 'last prop' of capitalism, without bringing an end of which it is impossible to bring an end to capitalism.

The budgetary policies of the Janata Government,

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ON CENTRE-STATE RELATION IN W. BENGAL ASSEMBLY

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'Left Front' Govt's Official Resolution

Shri Jyoti Basu to move that—

Whereas a re-ordering of the political, financial and economic relations between the Centre and the States is crucial for the preservation of the unity and integrity of India with her linguistic, cultural and other diversities ;

Whereas a re-ordering is also essential for accelerating the pace of economic development in the country as well as for a more even distribution of the fruits of such development ;

Whereas the fundamental disequilibrium in the relationship between the Centre and the States is conducive of encouraging authoritarian political trends as recent experience has shown, and basic changes in the Articles of the Constitution are called for the maintenance of the nation's democratic fabric ;

And whereas a well-conceived devolution of power, by strengthening the States and the Union territories, would in fact further contribute to the strengthening, rather than the weakening, of the Centre ;

Now, therefore, this Assembly records its approval of the stand taken by the Government of West Bengal on this issue as expressed in the Memorandum on Centre-State Relations (copy enclosed) which the Government has recently circulated among Ministers of the Union Government, Chief Ministers of States, Members of the Parliament, Members of the State Legislatures, jurists, educational and cultural institutions, mass organisations and other representative bodies ;

This Assembly also takes note of the fact that the

SUCI's Amendment Resolution

Whereas the question of Centre-State relation is crucial not for scoring victories in parliamentary politics using it as a gimmick to attract the support of different state governments suffering under the stern dictates of the Central Government ;

Whereas this question merits attention and deserves through consideration only to unite and integrate the Indian people in general and the proletariat and the exploited millions in particular and step up their legitimate democratic mass movements stage by stage, against all onslaughts, undemocratic and unjust acts and dictatorial power of the Central Government viz., power to dismiss elected Assembly, power to withhold assent to the Bill passed by the Assembly and power to share undue fiscal benefit ;

Whereas the linguistic, cultural and other diversities are the concomitant evils and direct outcome of the weakness of the leadership of independence struggle of our country that did not uphold the banner of the cultural and social revolution, the only course to unite the people and accelerate the process of formation of nation ;

Whereas India has attained nationhood politi-

cally, but culturally, linguistically and from different other aspects it is still distracted by disunity causing serious harm to the legitimate democratic mass movement of today ;

response to the Memorandum has been most encouraging, and records its hope that the aforesaid memorandum would serve as the starting point for detailed discussions and that an agreed set of recommendations would be arrived at through exchange of ideas at different national forums on this issue of overriding national significance.

Whereas at the present stage of monopoly capitalism in India the concentration of power at the Centre is bound to take place as a sequel to economic law of capitalism—no matter whether the constitution is federal or unitary ;

Whereas the demand for, more power to the State to the extent of enjoying virtually 'special status' like that of Kashmir is fraught with serious danger of reverting the very process of national integration so far achieved and is prone to release a dangerously divisive tendency in the body politic of our country ;

Now, therefore, this Assembly takes critical note of the stand taken by the Government of West Bengal on this issue as expressed in the Memorandum on Centre-State Relations (copy inclosed) which the government has recently circulated among Ministers of the Union Government, Chief Ministers of States, Members of Parliament, Members of the State Legislatures, jurists, educational and cultural institutions, mass organisations and other representative bodies and feels its obligation to fulfil the unaccomplished task of social and cultural revolution for cementing closer unity among our people ;

This Assembly is sure that this move will get tremendous response from the toiling millions since this had been so long, their demand and desire also.

Central Budget— Continuation of the same reactionary Capitalist Policies

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let alone marking a break with those of the Congress, tread the same path the Congress trod for the last 30 years, without any sense of shame however despite what the party had promised the common people before the Lok Sabha election last year. There is however nothing to be surprised at the identity of the political, economic and fiscal policies of the Janata Party and the Congress. In the midst of acute and severe crisis of the ruling capitalist class has sought desperately for an alternative to the Congress which, despite its best possible service to the master, exposed itself to the exploited millions in the process. The Janata Party has been installed in power at the Centre as a part of the bourgeois conspiracy to install the two party parliamentary system in our country and confine thereby the people's movements within the bounds of the parliamentary politics and thus

deceive the people. For 30 years the Congress defended and protected the aggregate interest of the capitalist class through its political, economic and fiscal policies. Now the Janata Party, as the present ruling party of the bourgeoisie is playing the same role of defending and protecting the aggregate interest of the capitalist class. In so doing they have reduced the State into a subservient instrument of the monopoly houses. Its budget therefore fails to provide even a little relief to the people. Thus the Janata Party's economic and fiscal schemes are just part of the blue print of the fascist device of the ruling class. It is another reminder to our people that the more we shall be able to accelerate our pace to reach the goal of the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution by strengthening the hands of the genuine revolutionary party, the sooner shall we be able to defeat the devil of fascism.

Bihar KKMS Conference

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and held capitalist system, solely responsible for all the problems of fast deteriorating conditions of the middle and poor peasants and agricultural labourers as well in rural India.

The conference unanimously elected a 21-member State Committee for its organisation, Kisan Khet-Majdoor Sangha with Com. Shankar Singh, Bihar State Secretary of SUCI and Com. Nalini Ranjan Singh, a member of the Bihar State Committee of SUCI as the president and secretary respectively.

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